

The Two Parties—The Interest and Duty of the South.

To-day, we finish the publication of the letters of the most prominent Democratic candidates for the Presidency. They, each and all, come out plainly and openly, and avow themselves, not only favorable to the execution of the Fugitive Slave Law, but willing, if elected, to veto any bill having for its object the repeal of that law, or its modification in any of its essential particulars, so as to deprive it of its beneficial character, or render it less efficient in its action. Among candidates thus definitely pledged, whose hands are thus plainly shown, the vote of the Northern, as well as the Southern Democracy, will be divided in Convention; and it is quite probable, that every vote in both sections will be cast for compromise men—pledged to the Fugitive Slave Law—not only to its execution, while a law; but its maintenance as a law.

Look on the other side. How comes it that Mr. Fillmore can calculate on so few votes in Convention from the North? His warmest partisans cannot claim for him 30, all told, from the whole North—half that number would perhaps be nearer the actual state of the case. Why is this, if not from the fact that Mr. Fillmore signed the Fugitive Slave Law, and thus went far beyond the point, up to which he could calculate on the support of his party North? And yet, he is remembered, Mr. Fillmore is in no way pledged to maintain this law, or to veto its repeal;—nay, so many scruples had he about its propriety, that he did not sign it until he had obtained the opinion of his Attorney General in favor of its constitutionality. He had to get legal advice before he would sign a law cumulative of a positive provision of the Constitution. And yet, this sickly and timid approval of the law, coupled with no pledge or avowal in favor of its maintenance, or of a determination to prevent its repeal, has ruined Mr. Fillmore with his party at the North; while, on the other hand, the Democratic candidates boldly show their hands, and avow their determination, if elected, to use the authority vested in them to prevent its repeal or modification; and yet they lose no ground with their party at the North; but among candidates thus pledged will be divided the whole vote of that section in Convention. These facts speak loudly in favor of the comparative soundness of the Northern Democratic party upon this question; and, taken in connection with the vote upon the passage of the Bill through the House, where it received twenty-seven Northern Democratic votes, and three Northern Whig votes, affords conclusive evidence of which party at the North can be most fully relied upon by the Southern people, in any emergency threatening their constitutional rights.

Looking, then, at the fact, that in any crisis a Democratic President, desirous of maintaining the Constitutional rights of the South, could bring to his support a large share of his party strength at the North, while a Whig President could calculate upon no such support, is it not the policy and the duty of the Southern people to cast their strength for the candidate of that party from which they could hope for assistance in any strait, rather than that of from which they could hope for none; and such is now the comparative positions of the Democratic and Whig parties at the North. Take, for instance, the last long Congress. We have heard a great deal about the soundness of Mr. Fillmore and Mr. Webster. Now, even admitting that soundness for argument sake, what good did it do the South? What strength could they bring to the support of the only measure for which the South cared a pin—the Fugitive Slave Law—three votes in the House, and not one in the Senate, was the extent of the Northern Whig support. As soon as a Whig President shows even a semblance of standing up for the South, he is deserted by his party North, and becomes useless to us—as see Fillmore. When Democratic politicians assume bold and open ground, they are sustained by their party—as notice the position of the prominent Democratic candidates. Even common sense would indicate to us the prudence of giving support where support may be expected in return; and the folly of throwing it away where there can be no chance of a requital.—*Daily Journal, 1st inst.*

By the way, we publish the proceedings of a town meeting held on the 1st in the Masonic Hall, on the subject of a new Hotel. The meeting was addressed by M. London, Esq., in some very sensible remarks, setting forth the necessity which, in the opinion of the speaker, existed for the erection of such building to accommodate the travelling community.

By the way, we notice our name as one of a committee appointed to solicit subscriptions. The only way we can account for this is upon the supposition that it was intended to show that the enterprise was one in which it is desired to have the assistance of the poor as well as the rich, and we were taken as the representative of the former class—the very *beau ideal*—the *ne plus ultra* of a poor man.

Broke Jail.—We learn that Jesse Holley, the yellow fellow convicted at our last Superior Court, of murder and arson, and sentenced to be hung, but in whose case an appeal was taken to the Supreme Court, broke out of the jail of this town last night, and made his escape. Holley is a most villainous-looking fellow, about 35 years of age, some five feet eight inches high, and rather stout built. He is rather a light mulatto, with a kind of reddish or sandy hair, as if burned, and a muddy, freckled face.

We believe that a white man, awaiting trial on some charge of felony, made his escape at the same time.—*Daily Journal, 1st inst.*

Gen. Commander.—We learn that General Commander of the Georgetown District, N. C., passed through this place last Sunday, on his way to Baltimore—most probably to attend the Convention.—We have not heard of his appointment as a delegate, but then he is a great man in that way.

CRYSTAL PALACE.—We find it stated that the \$200,000 stock for the erection of a Crystal Palace at New York, has all been subscribed, and that the exhibition will be opened in May, 1853.

THE MARION STAR.—We notice that this journal has re-appeared, improved and beautified in mechanical execution; and bidding fair, under the auspices of its new Editor, C. W. MILLER, Esq., to become a matter of pride to the community of Marion District, as we hope it will be of profit to its proprietors. When the Railroad is completed, the people of Marion and Wilmington will be near neighbors, and will feel a mutual interest in each other.

The absorbing interest connected with the National Convention now in session, as well as the pressure of other matters, has prevented us from paying the attention which we could have wished to the discussion of State politics. We shall endeavor, however, to enter shortly upon their discussion, with the coolness and impartiality which their importance demands. By the way, we regret exceedingly that the candidates do not find it in accordance with their arrangements to visit this place.

By Magnetic Telegraph for the Journal.

Democratic National Convention.

Despatched—Baltimore, June 2d, 9h. 15m. A. M.
Received—Wilmington, June 2d, 10h. 0m. A. M.

The Convention was called to order yesterday, by Benjamin F. Hallett, Esq., of Massachusetts, Chairman of the National Committee, who read the call for the Convention. Mr. Bright, of Indiana, proposed R. M. Saunders, of N. Carolina, as Chairman—elected unanimously. Edward C. West and Col. Paratt, of Tennessee, and Mr. Stewart, of Indiana, appointed Secretaries.

A Committee of one from each State, was appointed by the respective delegations, to report permanent officers, and rules for the Convention. A similar committee was appointed to examine the credentials of delegates. Adjourned.

EVENING SESSION.

The Committee on organization, reported, as President, John W. Davis, of Indiana, assisted by thirty Vice Presidents, and thirteen Secretaries; also, that the rules of the House of Representatives be adopted as the rules of this Convention; and that two-thirds of the whole number of votes given be necessary to a nomination; also, that the vote be taken by States, at the request of any State; and that each State be entitled to the same number of votes in Convention, as she will have in the next Electoral College.—There was much objection to the two-thirds rule, and several attempts made to defeat it. It was, however, adopted by a vote of two hundred and seventy-three to fourteen. Adjourned.

Great confusion from alternates crowding on the platform. Thought Cass will get the nomination.

T. Robt. P. Dick was chosen to serve on the committee upon organization on behalf of North Carolina; and Abram Rencher upon the committee to examine the credentials of members. Weldon N. Edwards was chosen as the Vice President from this State.

Two sets of delegates appeared from Georgia.—They declined appointing a member of the committee on credentials; but the two sets of delegates respectively designated James Jackson and Solomon Cohen, to represent each before the committee on credentials.

Hon. W. Davis, President elect of the Convention, having been conducted to the platform, by a committee consisting of Messrs. Stephens, of Kentucky, Wice, of Virginia, and Thompson, of Mississippi, took his seat amid demonstrations of applause.

Mr. Davis spoke as follows:—

Gentlemen of the Convention!—I return my sincere and cordial acknowledgments for the honor conferred by calling me to preside over your deliberations. Although not altogether unused to the duties of the chair, I approach it on this occasion with great doubts as to my success in presiding over so large an assembly. But in my attempt to discharge the arduous duties, I ask you to bear in mind that great old maxim, "Order is Heaven's first Law." [Applause.] I shall call largely for your forbearance. May I not say I ask for the exercise of a higher and purer Christian virtue, called "forgiveness," not only towards the chair but towards one another? I ask also, and conjure you as fellow-democrats, embarked in the great cause of democracy, to remember that obligations rest upon you as a party to promote harmony, conciliation and compromise—everything for principle, nothing for men. I again thank you, gentlemen. [Renewed applause succeeded.]

We should add, that Oliver S. Dewey, of N. C., officiated as one of the 13 Secretaries.

By Telegraph—Second Day.

On the second day, Wednesday, the Convention met at 10 o'clock in the morning. A resolution was introduced to appoint a committee consisting of one from each State, to prepare a platform, etc. Resolutions were offered by Phillips, of Alabama; and Bright, of Indiana, affirming the compromise, and approving the Fugitive Slave Law; also, a resolution by Charles, of N. York, recommending the carrying out of the Fugitive Slave Law. All ordered to lay on the table and be printed.

Hon. John W. Davis, the President of the Democratic Convention has filled the posts of Minister to China and Speaker of the House of Representatives in which latter position he earned a high reputation as a presiding officer. No better selection could have been made. A new ticket, Dickinson and Butler, or Butler and Dickinson has been started, either riding front, as might seem most expedient.

If the Fayetteville Observer were conscious of any strength in its own position, it would not require to display so much ingenuity in keeping both the facts of the case and the meaning of our articles in the background, as it does in an article in its issue of the 1st inst., headed "Backing Out," in which article it represents us as backing out from the position we have assumed in opposition to the Homestead Bill, which representation is at variance with the plain meaning of our words and the actual facts of the case. We are, to use a vulgarism, "down" upon that and kindred measures, and our opinion about them remains unchanged, but it does not necessarily follow that we consider every man a scoundrel who advocates them. Others may view them in a different light from what we do. They may think that such measures would advantage the poor and landless, and in their zeal to effect this purpose they may for the time being lose sight of considerations which to us are paramount. In speaking of Mr. Douglas or Mr. Johnston, we merely spoke of motives in this connection. It would be nearly as well however for the Observer to remember that Mr. Douglas is not the author of the Homestead Bill; and perhaps it would be even better and more strictly in order to ascertain whether he be guilty before passing sentence. Until some stronger evidence than mere asseverations is brought against Mr. Douglas, we think that our space can be better employed than in defending him against a nonentity.

In speaking of this bill last week, we remarked that it would be unjust to characterize it as a Democratic measure distinctly, since Whigs as large, if not a larger, proportion of the Whigs who voted upon the bill at all, gave it their support as did the Democrats. We have since taken the trouble to look into this, and find that the Democrats who voted for the bill, were not quite twice as many as those who voted against it; while the Whigs who voted for it, were more than twice as many as those who voted against it. The Whigs, therefore, for their numbers, were considerably more united than the Democrats; and the measure is, therefore, as much of a Whig as of a Democratic character—indeed more so. The Observer must have known that this was our meaning; and it acts disgustingly in taking the number of votes cast in favor of the bill as a criterion without any reference to those cast against it, and in total disregard of the much larger aggregate Democratic vote.

Mr. Fillmore.—The Southern Press puts the following pertinent questions to those enthusiastic Southern adherents upon the Slavery question. They strike us as being rather awkward. We are not aware of any satisfactory answer having been given to them:—
"Has Mr. Fillmore ever recanted the Abolition doctrines of his Erie letter?"
Did he not sign the fugitive slave law only after the Attorney General had obtained the opinion of his Attorney General as to its legality?

What proofs has he ever given that he is a white southerner as the *democratic* question then, Gen. Scott?

BETTER TO BE BORN LUCKY THAN RICH.—The Dillon family, descendants of Lord Dillon, of Ireland, have inherited an estate valued at upwards of \$7,000,000. We understand that our lucky fellow-citizen, Dr. John Bull, the great Sarsaparilla man, is an heir by marriage, and comes in for a snug little share amounting to three or four hundred thousand dollars. This is what we call good luck in reality.

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The Journal pretends to felicitate itself on the "total prostration" of the Whig party. Decided a good many of its readers about Long Creek, will believe in this prostration—but the Journal itself knows better.

Regretful Observer, 1st inst.—The Observer is perfectly right. A great many of our readers about Long Creek will believe in the prostration of the Whig party; and a great many in Wilmington, and Fayetteville too, as well as throughout the country; and, among them, candid Whigs, who reflect upon the fact, that the Democrats have elected their Governors in all the States in the Union but three—that they have a majority in the Legislatures of nearly as large a proportion of the States—that they have a permanent majority in both Houses of Congress, and throughout the country; and that the revenue Tariff—the Constitutional Treasury, and other measures of Democratic policy, are in full force;—whilst National Banks, Protective Tariffs, and other Whig measures, are dead and done for—absolute ideas, in fact. This is a state of the case, which cannot safely be denied; because the proofs exist upon the statute book of the country.—Nay, the Observer knows that we state the facts fairly, and have drawn from them the only reasonable inference—the prostration of the Whig party; and it will require something more than a gratuitous sneer at one of the most moral, industrious, and growing neighborhoods in North Carolina, to do away with the impression—even upon the minds of the Editors themselves.

THE Steamship Arctic arrived at New York on the 30th ult., with Liverpool dates to the 19th. The weather in England and Ireland has been very favorable for the crops. The British Government is devising means for assisting the starving Highlanders, and the distressed hand loom weavers of Scotland, to emigrate to the Colonies. The Lord Lieutenant had refused to countenance the petition in favor of the release of Smith O'Brien.

The census of France has been published, and shows the whole population to be 35,781,628. It is rumored in Paris, that the Minister of Police has been vested with discretionary power over all Foreigners in France. The recent interview of the Northern Sovereigns, (Russia, Austria and Prussia,) had caused great uneasiness at the Tuilleries; and their movements were closely watched by special agents. It is understood that Russia, Austria and Prussia have definitely agreed, with reference to French affairs, to uphold the Treaties of 1814 and 1815. One of the stipulations of these Treaties is, that no member of the Bonaparte family shall, at any time, be allowed to assume the Imperial title in France.

George's book on the Hungarian war has been suppressed by Austria. It is supposed in consequence of asserting that the Hungarians were in the legitimate ground until they put forth their declaration of independence.

TRAVEL.—The premium on gold is rising alarmingly at Constantinople: new coins of 100 piastres being current at 115. The Pasha of Egypt has voluntarily contributed £275,000 towards the financial relief of the Sultan.

There is an increased firmness, and a slight advance in the market for Cotton and Breadstuffs; but hardly enough to quote. No change in other articles.

UNITED STATES FUNDS.—It appears from the Treasurer's statement that on the 21st of May, there was in the various depositories a net amount subject to draft, of \$15,058,169.82. In the depository here \$8,667.41.

Town Meeting.—Pursuant to public notice, a large and respectable portion of the citizens of Wilmington assembled at the Masonic Hall on Monday evening May 31st, 1852, to take into consideration the erection of a New Hotel, suitable to the growing necessities of the place.

On motion of Daniel B. Baker, Esq., Wm. C. Howard, Esq., Magistrate of Police, was called to the chair, and Lewis H. Pierce, appointed secretary.

The chairman in a brief remark made known the object for which the meeting was called.

M. London, Esq., responded to the many calls made upon him to a speech of some length. His remarks were practical and to the point—showed conclusively the many advantages to be derived by the citizens of the town in the erection of a first class Hotel, and the increased comforts and conveniences the travelling community would thereby enjoy.

On motion of Manger London, Esq., it was unanimously Resolved, That the immediate erection of a New Hotel in the town of Wilmington is deemed necessary to meet the demands of the place, and in furtherance of this object, a committee of five shall be appointed by the chair to solicit subscriptions.

Whereupon the chairman announced the following gentleman as constituting said committee: D. B. Baker, Esq., Manger London, Esq., Hiram R. Nixon, P. K. Dickinson and Jas. Fulton.

On motion the chairman was added to the committee. On motion, the papers of the town are requested to publish the proceedings of this meeting.

WM. C. HOWARD, M. P., Chairman.

L. H. PIERCE, Secretary.

A Dreadful Accident—Twelve Ladies Drowned.—CONCORD, N. H., June 1.—Whilst Mrs. Bartlett, Miss Thresher, and ten other ladies were sailing in a small boat, on Saturday last, on San Cook river, the boat was overturned, and all twelve ladies were drowned. This accident has caused great distress. The ladies were all well known and highly respected.

Steamboat Explosion and Loss of Life.—NEW YORK, May 29.—The new steamer, Eastern Star, lying at the foot of Grand Street, whilst preparing for her trip, this afternoon, burst into flames, killing the captain and engineer, and seriously injuring several hands. Two have since died, and three others are so seriously injured that it is not possible for them to survive.

Gen. Scott.—We notice that the New York Herald is bitterly opposed to the nomination of General Scott. Referring to a forthcoming life of the General, which Bennett says it being written by Greeley, he remarks:—

"It will be a history, not a eulogy, and will contain a full and fair account of the great warrior, and will not be the pen of a skilful and diplomatic scholar to do justice to the negotiations of General Scott, especially those singular negotiations in the valley of Mexico."

"Let us recite a case or two. We have it from reliable authority that, after the first series of battles in front of the Mexican capital, Santa Anna, in secret negotiation with Gen. Scott, proposed to yield up the city as easy conquest to the Americans, on condition that Santa Anna should receive a million of dollars more or less, for the part which he proposed to play. We further understand that General Scott closed the bargain, and, as a guarantee of bona fide contract, paid over the sum of ten thousand dollars to Santa Anna, as the first instalment of bargain and sale. We are further advised that Santa Anna thus secured a million of dollars from the 24th of August to the 8th of September, with the understanding that, after a short fight or so to save appearances, the city was to be turned over to the American army. The subsequent most bloody battles, however, show that General Scott was egregiously humbugged out of his money and his armistice, and that he was so disgusted with the perfidious Mexicans, that on being subsequently offered a million and a quarter of dollars to turn traitor, and accept the dictatorship of Mexico, he rejected the offer with scorn and contempt. To substantiate the accuracy of these negotiations, we understand that the correspondence upon the subject may be had from the files of the War Office at Washington."

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"A Small Scrap." For the Journal.

Messrs. Editors.—How am I to know what the

Raleigh Register's correspondent says of the "scrap" of veritable history I laid before your numerous readers? That delectable chronicle is not taken anywhere in this section, and would prove as rare and strange a sight about here, as the Japanese "Mikado," or the no less sacred "Zingoon" would in the streets of Raleigh. I have sometimes had an idea of purchasing a copy of that tremendous journal, and having it hung in the back porch, alongside a stuffed rattle-snake—a twin "punkin"—a double gourd, and other curiosities, green and rare.

But "revels a notre moultin." Let us return to our sheep—(the Register's correspondent,) offered up voluntarily as a sacrifice in expiation of Mr. Rayner's great political sin. I am fearful, though, that all the blood of all the Raleigh sheep, will prove about as acceptable as did the "rejected addresses" and offering of Cain; and that no "sons of Aaron" can impart grace enough to the blood of the deceptively rendered the sacrifice agreeable.

The scrap has had precisely the effect I coveted; it had not had, I should be deploring the failure of an anticipated fulfillment of prophecy. I wished it to arouse the dormant energies of the Raleigh Clique; because I knew the exercise of their energies would be a "present help" to our democratic cause. Just stir them up with a pole of the requisite dimensions, and you insure the triumph of the Democratic party at the next election. Get them up, and awake, and set them to coining Whig capital, and I would not be afraid to stake a dollar upon every sentence they write, that Mr. Kerr will be defeated.

The Raleigh writer perhaps, denies that Mr. Rayner set that Convention ball rolling. If he does, good. For it shows that Raleigh Whigs are afraid and ashamed to bear the responsibility of such a weight. Let Western Whigs clearly understand that the C. I. que are ashamed of having given birth to their idol—the Convention;—and that they deny it; and that rejuvenated boy will have to work harder than it has yet done, to retrieve its character.

If a denial of the scrap had emanated from any other quarter, I should have been sorely disappointed; for in no other portion of the State have the Whig party become so lost to honor and respect for truth as to deny the truth of my positions. A fair and honorable controversy against them, would have been sought in attempting to show that Mr. Rayner was only joking at the time; that he is now sorry and penitent; and that he would atone in future, by being *num* upon the Convention. The least investigation of the matter would have proved from the record, that "Mac" was correct; and that Mr. Rayner did do the deed; that he was the head of the Jupiter from whose brain the mischievous Minerva sprang; the Clique, being the Jupiter entire.

But, the denial came from Raleigh. Good! The deed was concocted in Raleigh. Better! Mr. Rayner lives in Raleigh. Best! What a concatenation of circumstances, "painting the moral and adorning the tale," whatever it be, that illuminates the columns of the Register. What a glorious fulfilling of "Mac's" wish. The denial comes from Raleigh, eh? The people know exactly what estimate to place upon such a denial.

Mr. Rayner detests the very combination of letters spelling the word Convention. And well he may, for his interest and reputation are all the product of his Eastern sympathies and prejudices. Long ago he hoped his connection with the Convention had been forgotten; and if it ever has, his influence upon it has not been lost.—And Western Whigs are clothed with the idea as closely as if each were invested with the shirt of Nessus. (Mr. Rayner being both Nessus and Nessus.) The Democrats at the time set it down to him, so that the paternity of the Convention might never be saddled upon them.

I pity Mr. Rayner, for he has a good, open countenance, and with a sound heart, and should have kept shy of the "man traps and spring guns" set by the clique, (one of who he is which.) This trap, although set for their enemies, caught themselves, Mr. Rayner being principal sufferer; for all of which Mac is not to blame. No one that looks upon the kindly features of Mr. R. would say he deserved such a fate. I believe he is safe from his enemies, but any attempt to save him from his friends at this late day will be like that would have been to save Caesar from his, after he had fallen at the base of Pompey's statue. I rather suspect, too, that the apocryph in the Register bears something of this character.

"I count to buy 'Rayner' not to praise him. The evil that men do lives after them. The good is often interferred with their bones; So let it be with 'Rayner.'"

And the apologist could add the

"Hath told you 'Noble Mac'—
"Is due, all due to Rayner?"
If it were, it were a grievous fault,
And grievously hark to 'Rayner' answered it."

Mr. R. is effectually kilt, and the Brutus and Cassius of the tragedy belong to the Clique. As to "Truth's" defence, denial, or what not, some Anthony may truthfully exclaim:—

"See what a reptile the curious Cassius made."

Here is a plain, explicit statement:

Mr. Rayner, during the session of 1848 and '49, through whatever advice the Clique saw fit to give, originated the idea of a Convention. There was some little tergiversating on his part about restricting it or not; but every one knows, or ought to know, that any Convention of the people is an open one. By this movement Mr. Rayner imposed upon Western Whigs; for they believed him in earnest; and by it he did deceive the Democrats, for they knew it to be a ruse to kill Free Suffrage; it has now rebounded, and Mr. R. is the sufferer; and with him the Whig party.

I am not surprised that the Register's correspondent should sign himself "Tavern," for anything of a political nature, from that direction, has to have such passport affixed to it, to make it pass; and the correspondent wrote truth, below his production with the same instinctive afterthought that made the Dutchman write "dish dish de horsh, dish dish de man," beneath his unique painting. I somehow guess that the production itself has great internal evidence of being "truth," as the aforementioned Dutchman's picture had of coming from the hand of a Vanijcke.

Yours Truly,
MAC.

New Hanover, May 29th, 1852.

"Mr. Rayner" could not be prevailed on to say he would vote for a Convention; that is, before the people, but as a member of the Legislature he would. A nice piece of consistency. "Mac" takes occasion here to say, no personal discount is in these remarks to Mr. Rayner; indeed, if any courtesy or kindness of mine could extricate him from his dilemma, I would cheerfully exert them; only, so that he got him into it would be left to suffer.

IS IT THE ENTERING OF THE WEDGE?—Her Majesty's ship Sphinx had visited the island of Lochoo, a tributary to the empire of Japan. Capt. Shadwell, commissioned to deliver a letter from Lord Palmerston to the Regent, proceeded, after some little negotiation, to the Royal city of Shooi, about three miles inland, and had an audience with the Regent within the walls of the city. An entire and attentive was shown to Capt. Shadwell and the crew of his vessel, notwithstanding the well known objection of the natives, through fear of the Japanese Government, to admit strangers to their territory.

Hon. Kossuth's 28th Feb.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM.

Letter from D. S. Dickinson, Esq.

BROOKLYN, N. Y., May 29, 1852.

My Dear Sir: Your favor of the 17th, suggesting that, among other names, mine has been associated with the democratic nomination for the Presidency, and propounding for my consideration certain interrogatories, reached me last evening.

I have not at any time regarded myself as a candidate for the distinguished honor mentioned, and as I presume is generally known, early declared my preference for one of the eminent statesmen whose names have long been conspicuously before the public. Under these circumstances, I feel some delicacy in publishing, at this time, the opinions of a private citizen, though none in expressing them.

It is due as well to the kind partiality which has presented the enquiries, as to my own determination, whether in a public opinion, or a public servant, to practice no evasions or concealments upon vital questions, that an answer should be given in a spirit of frankness which becomes the occasion, and it is given accordingly. I long since declared it to be my fixed intention and purpose, in whatsoever station the vicissitudes of life might place me, to sustain, by any and every just means within my control, the measures of adjustment of 1850, believing their adoption as a whole to have been wise, and their operation salutary. I regard it as the highest duty and dearest privilege of the citizen, to cherish and preserve a Union of States, which has conferred such incalculable blessings upon mankind; and this can only be accomplished by maintaining, in letter and in spirit, the integrity of the Constitution.

That Constitution provides for the restoration of fugitives from service, and the act of 1850 simply provides for its execution.

On the 28th of February, 1849, while discussing Mr. Walker's amendment, providing for the temporary government of the territories, I said in the Senate:

"They (the Northern people) read, too, in the Constitution, that fugitives held to service by the laws of one State, escaping into another, are to be delivered up to the jurisdiction from whence they fled, not to be enslaved, if they are freemen, as the 'cant phrase of the times'; but to have their rights adjudicated by the laws of the State where the service is claimed. All reflecting men must see, and know that this is as much a violation of the letter as of the spirit of the Constitution, to the right of God and in the judgment of men, to harbor and secrete a fugitive from the laws of a State, which held him to service, as to shelter and protect a fugitive from justice, and that the one is no less condemnable in expediency or flagrant in morals, than the other."

These provisions are clearly written in our fundamental law, and he who violates them, or either of them, under the shallow justification that they are of no moral force, violates the primary duties of citizenship, and commits treason against his Government."

On the 25th of August, 1850, on the final reading of the fugitive slave bill, which was passed and is now a law, I said:—"The act of 1795, providing for the restoration of fugitives from service, and the act of 1850, would, in my judgment, have answered the purpose for which it was designed, if it had been fairly construed and faithfully executed; and although we may obviate some defects which experience has detected, and add to its force by prescribing penalties for resisting its mandates, yet as the whole difficulty has rested in a neglect to comply with the letter of the Constitution, the remedy will be sooner found, if sought, in cultivating a sound state of public feeling and constitutional obligation among the people of the free States." &c.

In entering into a common compact, the several States of the Union solemnly covenanted with each other, to restore fugitives from justice and from service, and the provisions are now plainly written in the constitution, to be mistaken or disregarded with impunity."

After citing each branch of the article, I add:—"In both cases the fugitive is to be delivered up; summarily upon proper evidence, and in neither case, nor in one more than the other, is he to be put upon trial in the State to which he has fled, nor can Congress do more than to provide that he shall be delivered up, to be tried in the country to which he fled; the fugitive will be justly dealt with in the jurisdiction to which he is returned. It was asserted 'in this confiding spirit, and I have yet to learn that the practice is otherwise.'"

These opinions have been confirmed by subsequent experience, and I am prepared, under all circumstances, whenever and wherever my acts shall be required, to resist an attempt, so to distort or change the provisions of the existing law as to reduce it beneath the constitutional standard, and to render it less effectual for securing to people of the South their conceded rights. It would clearly be the duty of the Executive, under these circumstances, to resist any such attempt, by interposing a veto; and should it ever be my fortune to be clothed with such authority, and the occasion should arise, it would most surely be exercised.

If you believe the publication of this letter, at this time, will advance the interests of the Democratic party, it is at your service accordingly; otherwise, for reasons hereinafore stated, I should prefer not to claim for myself, in this respect, the consideration of the public.

I have the honor to be with high regard, yours, &c.

ROBT. G. SCOTT, Esq.

Letter from S. A. Douglas, Esq.

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 22, 1852.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 17th instant, and take pleasure in responding directly to your interrogatories; especially as my answer will only require reiteration of my well matured opinions, which have repeatedly been expressed in my place in the Senate and in the House of Representatives, and to my constituents at home.

While the series of measures, known as the Compromise, was supported and opposed by Democrats and Whigs indiscriminately, and, therefore, could not justly be claimed as party measures, yet I deem it my duty, under the circumstances, to give them, in the Senate, and in the House, and in the House of Representatives, and in the House of Representatives, and in the House of Representatives, and in the House of Representatives, and in the House of